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ORIGIN AF-01

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 ONY-00 SSO-00 /001R

DRAFTED BY: AF/C: KCAISTON  
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P 160031Z NOV 94  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 307914

FOR CHIEF OF MISSION ONLY FROM AF/C - ARLENE RENDER

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: AMGT  
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

REF: KIGALI 1080

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THIS YEAR'S COUNTRY  
DIRECTOR'S EVALUATION OF POST REPORTING FOR RWANDA. YOU  
ARE ENCOURAGED TO USE IT IN PREPARING YOUR ANNUAL  
REPORTING PLAN, WHICH IS DUE DECEMBER 16. IN THE  
INTEREST OF CANDOR, DEPARTMENT INSTRUCTIONS LIMIT  
DISTRIBUTION OF THE CDE TO THE AMBASSADOR WITH A RECORD  
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COPY TO INR. YOU ARE ENCOURAGED TO SHARE THIS WITH YOUR  
STAFF AND MEMBERS OF THE COUNTRY TEAM, AND CONSIDER THE  
RECOMMENDATIONS IN PREPARING YOUR ANNUAL REPORTING PLAN  
FOR NEXT YEAR.

COUNTRY: RWANDA

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POST: KIGALI

PERIOD OF EVALUATION: NOVEMBER 15, 1993 - NOVEMBER 15, 1994

(NOTE: ALL CABLE REFERENCES ARE TO 1994 UNLESS CABLE NUMBER IS PRECEDED BY 93 DESIGNATION)

AGENCIES/OFFICES CONSULTED: A.I.D., TREASURY, USDOC, CIA, DOD, STATE AF, P, INR, PRM, IO, DRL, EB

EVALUATOR: ARLENE RENDER, DIRECTOR

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GENERAL COMMENTS  
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3. THE EVALUATION PERIOD COVERED AN EXTRAORDINARY PERIOD IN RWANDAN HISTORY. THE RESUMPTION OF THE WAR IN EARLY APRIL LED TO SUSPENSION OF EMBASSY OPERATIONS FOR FOUR MONTHS, WITH NO CABLE COMMUNICATION CAPABILITIES FOR THE FIRST FEW WEEKS FOLLOWING RE-OPENING OF THE EMBASSY. ALTHOUGH EMBASSY CABLE REPORTING HAS RESUMED, THE POST IS ON MINIMIZE, HAS ONLY A SKELETAL STAFF, AND IS OPERATING UNDER VERY HARSH CONDITIONS.

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4. UNDER SECRETARY TARNOFF ASKED US TO CONVEY HIS PERSONAL APPRECIATION FOR THE TREMENDOUS EFFORTS MADE BY AF/C MISSIONS, ESPECIALLY RWANDA AND ITS NEIGHBORS, UNDER IMMENSELY DIFFICULT, DANGEROUS, AND IN SOME CASES HEART-RENDING CIRCUMSTANCES. EXCELLENT REPORTING ACROSS THE BOARD ALLOWED SEVENTH FLOOR PRINCIPALS TO KEEP ABREAST OF THE HUMANITARIAN, POLITICAL, REGIONAL, AND SECURITY REPERCUSSIONS. HE NOTED THAT ALL POSTS DESERVE COMMENDATION FOR THEIR PERSUASIVE EFFORTS WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS ON ISSUES KEY TO THIS ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY. THE DEPARTMENT REQUESTED DEMARCHES ON A RANGE OF ISSUES FROM HAITI TO POPULATION CONTROL, AND AF/C MISSIONS DELIVERED OUR ARGUMENTS FORCEFULLY AND IN A TIMELY FASHION.

5. POST'S REPORTING PLAN (REFTEL) WAS DRAWN UP BEFORE RESUMPTION OF THE WAR AND FOCUSED ON THE STAGES OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE <<ARUSHA>> <<PEACE>> <<ACCORD>>. WITH THE ARUSHA PROCESS HAVING BEEN SWEEPED AWAY BY THE ENSUING

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MASSACRES AND WARFARE, POST'S REPORTING PLAN WAS QUICKLY  
SUPERSEDED BY EVENTS.

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REPORTING ON ISSUES  
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POST-WAR ISSUES  
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THE NEW RWANDAN ORDER

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6. THE AMBASSADOR'S OVERVIEW OF THE DRASTICALLY ALTERED  
POST-WAR LANDSCAPE ("RWANDA AT THREE MONTHS" - ROME  
16645) IS FASCINATING READING. IT ENCAPSULATES IN TWO  
SHORT CABLE PAGES RWANDA TODAY, WITH A CAPITAL CITY  
RETURNING TO A SEMBLANCE OF NORMALCY BUT A COUNTRYSIDE  
OCCUPIED BY THE MILITARY AND MANAGED BY NGO'S. THE  
LIMITED WRIT OF THE GOR AND THE SEA-CHANGE IN THE  
COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION ARE CLEARLY LAID OUT, AND A  
NEW ISSUE -- THE CRISIS IN RWANDAN IDENTITY -- IS ABLY  
EXAMINED. AS WITH ALL GOOD REPORTING, POLICY  
IMPLICATIONS ARE GIVEN GREAT EMPHASIS; THE PIECE ENDS  
WITH A CLEAR PLAN OF ACTION, FOCUSING ON ACCOUNTABILITY,  
ASSISTANCE TO THE GOR, AND SECURITY MEASURES IN THE  
CAMPS. THESE, OF COURSE, HAVE BECOME KEY ELEMENTS OF THE  
USG STRATEGY IN RWANDA.

SECURITY/MILITARY ISSUES  
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7. THE REPORTING IN THIS AREA, PARTICULARLY FROM THE  
DATT, HAS BEEN OUTSTANDING -- VOLUMINOUS AND VERY WELL  
ANALYZED. THE DATT'S REGULAR TRIPS INTO THE COUNTRYSIDE  
AND ACROSS THE BORDER INTO EASTERN ZAIRE HAVE PROVIDED A  
WEALTH OF INFORMATION. REPORTING ON THE MOVEMENTS AND  
ACTIVITIES OF THE EX-FAR AND MILITIAS (E.G., KIGALI 1675,  
USDAO KIGALI 1707, 1993) HAVE BEEN OF PARTICULAR INTEREST  
AS ANALYSTS SEEK TO JUDGE THE EX-FAR'S INTENTIONS/NEXT  
MOVES. POST REPORTING ON EFFORTS TO INTEGRATE ELEMENTS  
OF THE EX-FAR INTO THE RPA HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY

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IMPORTANT IN DETERMINING EXACTLY HOW COMMITTED THE GOR  
(RPF) IS TO FOLLOWING UP ON THIS ARUSHA OBLIGATION.  
KIGALI 01645 ("CONVERSATION WITH FORMER FAR GENERAL  
RUSATIRA") RAISED SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT THE GOR'S  
COMMITMENT, BUT EMBOFF'S FASCINATING VISIT TO A FAR/RPA  
REINTEGRATION CAMP (KIGALI 2039) SUGGESTS THAT A REAL  
EFFORT AT INTEGRATION IS UNDERWAY. THIS SUBJECT BEARS  
CLOSE FOLLOWING.

8. REPORTING HAS ALSO BEEN EXCELLENT IN THE AREA OF  
UNAMIR OPERATIONS. USDAO KIGALI 2067 PROVIDES AN  
EXCELLENT OVERVIEW OF UNAMIR/RPA RELATIONS AND EXPLAINS  
THE REASONS FOR THE RECENT FRICTION BETWEEN RPA AND  
UNAMIR -- AN ISSUE THAT, IF NOT ADEQUATELY ADDRESSED,  
COULD LEAD TO SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES. POST'S REGULAR,  
ANNOTATED UNAMIR SITREPS, WITH ACCOMPANYING DATT  
COMMENTS, ARE A REAL GOLD MINE -- REplete WITH CRUCIAL  
INFORMATION ABOUT UNAMIR STRENGTH AND LOCATIONS OF  
DEPLOYMENT, ONGOING KILLINGS INSIDE RWANDA AND WHO MAY OR  
MAY NOT BE TO BLAME, AND INCIDENTS IN WHICH UNAMIR HAS  
BEEN DENIED ACCESS TO CERTAIN SITES (AN ISSUE OF UTMOST  
IMPORTANCE -- AS FUTURE USG AID HAS BEEN TIED TO FREE  
ACCESS). DATT'S RECENT REPORTING ON RPA EFFORTS TO DRIVE  
(HUTU) DISPLACED PERSONS OUT OF IDP CAMPS (E.G., USDAO  
KIGALI 1945, 1955) HELP WASHINGTON UNDERSTAND THE  
IMPORTANT INTERNAL DYNAMICS IN RWANDA, WHICH COULD LEAD  
TO NEW OUTFLOWS OF REFUGEES OR POSSIBLE CONFRONTATIONS  
WITH UNAMIR.

HUMAN RIGHTS

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9. THE CONFUSION SURROUNDING THE "GERSONY REPORT" WAS  
WELL COVERED IN KIGALI 1684 ("AFTERMATH OF GERSONY  
INVESTIGATION"). THE DATT'S CAREFUL REPORTING ON  
INCIDENTS INSIDE RWANDA HAVE PLAYED A CRUCIAL ROLE IN  
HELPING CLARIFY THE EXTENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES INSIDE  
RWANDA, AND THE ROLE OF THE RPF IN SUCH INCIDENTS. THE  
STANDOUT PIECE HERE IS USDAO KIGALI 2124, WHICH REVIEWS  
DATT'S OBSERVATIONS AFTER 14 WEEKS ON THE GROUND AND

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ARGUES PERSUASIVELY THAT, CONTRARY TO SOME REPORTS, THE RPA IS NOT SYSTEMATICALLY DRIVING HUTUS OUT OF RWANDA. POST'S EXCELLENT ACCESS TO UNAMIR AND REGULAR EMBOFF TRAVEL INTO THE FIELD GIVE GREAT WEIGHT TO THESE ANALYTICAL PIECES, AND HELP SHED SOME LIGHT ON CRUCIAL QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE "GERSONY REPORT". EMBASSY'S REPORTS ON THE LARGE NUMBER OF SUSPECTED WAR CRIMES DETAINEES, ICRC'S ACCESS TO PRISONERS, AND THE PRIMITIVE CONDITION OF THE POST-WAR JUDICIAL SYSTEM (KIGALI 1738, 1947) FILLED KEY INFORMATION GAPS AND CONFIRMED POLICY MAKERS' VIEWS THAT JUDICIAL ASSISTANCE IS A TOP PRIORITY. WITH THE USG AND OTHER DONORS STILL IN THE EARLY STAGES OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT, THESE TYPES OF REPORTS ARE READ VERY CAREFULLY AND HAVE AN IMPORTANT IMPACT ON THE DIRECTION OF FUTURE RELATIONS. END USERS STRESSED THAT THE GOR/RPA HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE MUST REMAIN AMONG THE VERY TOP REPORTING PRIORITIES FOR POST.

WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL/HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS  
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10. POST HAS DONE AN EXCEPTIONAL JOB OF REPORTING ON THESE TWO KEY POST-WAR ISSUES. POST MADE A HERCULEAN EFFORT TO PERSUADE THE GOR TO ACCEPT OUR ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE TRIBUNAL, AND PROVIDED TIMELY, DETAILED REPORTS OF THE VARIOUS POSITIONS ON THE ISSUE WITHIN THE GOR (KIGALI 1883, 1927, 2020, 2096) AND THE EFFORTS OF THE UN LEGAL ENVOY TO CHANGE THE GOR'S POSITION (E.G., KIGALI 2116). POST'S EXCELLENT FEEDBACK (E.G., KIGALI 2114 - "A NO VOTE ON THE HORIZON") ALLOWED US TO DEVELOP COUNTER-ARGUMENTS, SHIFT OUR FOCUS TO ABSTENTION, AND ULTIMATELY CONCLUDE THAT THERE WAS NO PURPOSE TO CONTINUE THE LOBBYING EFFORT.

11. POST HAS DONE AN EQUALLY SUPERB JOB ON COVERING THE DIFFICULTIES ASSOCIATED WITH DEPLOYING THE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS. KIGALI 1700 AND 1921 PROVIDED GOOD STATUS REPORTS, HIGHLIGHTING THE PROBLEMS THAT THE EFFORT FACES. KIGALI 1971 IS A STANDOUT PIECE THAT NOT ONLY ASSESSES THE PROGRAM AT A GIVEN POINT, BUT SETS FORTH A COGENT PLAN OF ACTION TO MOVE THINGS FORWARD. DEPARTMENT HAS RELIED HEAVILY ON THIS PLAN OF ACTION, AND POST WAS CAREFUL TO REPORT BACK ON ACTIONS THE EMBASSY HAS TAKEN

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TO CARRY OUT THE PLAN.

ECONOMIC ISSUES  
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12. POST REPORTING ON THE GOR'S CASH-STARVED CONDITION HAS PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN THE USG'S DECISION TO HELP THE NEW GOVERNMENT SO AS TO AVOID A DOWNWARD SPIRAL AND POSSIBLE RENEWED HOSTILITIES. POST'S CABLES ON THE GOR'S  
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ATTEMPTS TO RESTORE LIQUIDITY TO THE NASCENT POSTWAR ECONOMY (E.G., KIGALI 1519, 1726, 1939) HAVE BEEN FOLLOWED CLOSELY, AND WE ALL FELT A LITTLE BETTER WHEN THE CENTRAL BANK'S VAULT WAS FINALLY OPENED AND SUBSTANTIAL RESERVES WERE DISCOVERED (KIGALI 1984, 2045). WE HAVE READ WITH GREAT INTEREST ABOUT THE EFFORTS OF THE IMF/IBRD TO HELP RWANDA (KIGALI 2092) AND ABOUT THE TURF BATTLES BETWEEN WORLD BANK AND UNDP (KIGALI 2139), A KEY ISSUE AS WE APPROACH THE UNDP ROUNDTABLE AND WORK TO SOLVE THE BANK ARREARS PROBLEM. WE HAVE ALSO FOLLOWED CLOSELY POST'S REPORTING ON THE RELUCTANCE OF OTHER DONORS TO STEP FORWARD AND OFFER ANYTHING OTHER THAN HUMANITARIAN AID, A FACT THAT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE RAISED IN THE NEWLY FORMED RWANDA CONTACT GROUP.

HUMANITARIAN/RELIEF ISSUES  
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13. MOST OF THE REPORTING IN THIS AREA HAS BEEN PRODUCED BY THE DART TEAM. DART REPORTS (WHICH EMANATE FROM NAIROBI BUT CONTAIN INPUT FROM DART KIGALI) HAVE BEEN UNIFORMLY FIRST-RATE. THESE REPORTS PROVIDE AN EXCELLENT SUMMARY OF CONDITIONS IN EACH REGION WITHIN RWANDA, AND IN THE NEIGHBORING CAMPS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY. THE REPORTS NOT ONLY PROVIDE THE VERY LATEST DATA ON REFUGEE/DISPLACED NUMBERS AND RELIEF NEEDS, THEY ALSO PROVIDE CRUCIAL INFORMATION ON SECURITY CONDITIONS. IN THE WORDS OF ONE KEY USER, THE DART REPORTS HAVE BEEN "INVALUABLE ASSESSMENTS OF THE SITUATION IN THE FIELD, INCLUDING REFUGEE FLOWS, MILITARY DEPLOYMENTS, UNAMIR  
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EFFECTIVENESS, AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY, NGO CONCERNS, AND A  
HOST OF OTHER ISSUES."PRE-APRIL ISSUES  
-----EFFORTS TO IMPLEMENT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS  
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14. THE EMBASSY'S REPORTING FROM NOVEMBER TO EARLY APRIL WAS CORRECTLY FOCUSED ON THE ONGOING EFFORTS TO INSTALL THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT AND BEGIN IMPLEMENTING ARUSHA. POST PROVIDED PROLIFIC REPORTING ON THE NEGOTIATIONS TO INSTALL THE GOVERNMENT, WITH EXCELLENT INSIGHTS INTO THE INTRA-PARTY SPLITS AND THE BATTLES OVER WHETHER TO SEAT THE CDR. KEY CABLES IN THIS SERIES WERE 93 KIGALI 4577 ("TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: THE PLOT THICKENS"), 93 KIGALI 4612 ("TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: THE DEVIL'S IN THE DETAILS), KIGALI 0776 ("HESITANT STEPS TOWARD A NEW GOVERNMENT"), AND KIGALI 1335 ("CDR ISSUE PROVES INTRACTABLE"). POST MADE USEFUL POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS TO PROD THE PROCESS, INCLUDING A PROPOSED WASHINGTON DEMARCHE TO THE RPF ON CDR PARTICIPATION (KIGALI 1319) AND PRESSURE FROM A/S MOOSE TO THE KEY LEADERS ON ALL SIDES (KIGALI 0777). POST'S PROPOSALS WERE WELL-THOUGHT OUT AND PRESENTED, AND WASHINGTON FOLLOWED-UP ON BOTH RECOMMENDATIONS. KIGALI 0750 ("THE MILITARY AND THE TRANSITION TO PEACE"), WHICH FULFILLED A REQUIREMENT OF POST'S (PRE-WAR) PRP, PRESENTED AN INTERESTING ANALYSIS OF THE VARIOUS CURRENTS WITHIN THE FORMER GOR'S MILITARY APPARATUS AND THEIR VIEWS ON ARUSHA.

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SECURITY/UNAMIR I  
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15. POST WAS CAREFUL TO REPORT ON THE MANY SECURITY INCIDENTS LEADING UP TO THE CATAclysm OF APRIL (E.G., KIGALI 0784 CONCERNING THE ASSASSINATION OF PSD LEADER GATABAZI, AND KIGALI 0792 ON THE VIOLENCE IT SPARKED). POST DID A GOOD JOB OF TYING THIS VIOLENCE TO THE POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS (E.G., KIGALI 1423 "KILLINGS JEOPARDIZE SOLUTION TO POLITICAL IMPASSE") AND PAINTED AN ACCURATE PICTURE OF THE HEIGHTENED TENSIONS THAT

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PREVAILED IN THE PRE-APRIL PERIOD (E.G., KIGALI 1081). POST WAS CAREFUL TO TRACK DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR I AND OUTLINED WELL THE LOGISTICAL AND OTHER LIMITATIONS ON THE FORCE (93 KIGALI 4324, 4551, KIGALI 0336). EMBASSY REPORTING ON THE DISCOVERY OF ARMS CACHES AND UN/WESTERN DEMARCHES ON THAT SUBJECT (KIGALI 0157, 0275) RAISED THE SPECTER OF MILITIAS, WHOSE EXISTENCE WOULD PROVE SO IMPORTANT IN THE CARNAGE THAT FOLLOWED. WHILE THIS REPORTING DID NOT SUGGEST WHAT WAS TO FOLLOW, NO ONE COULD HAVE PREDICTED THE EVENTS OF APRIL OR THE HORRENDOUS, SYSTEMATIC GENOCIDE THAT OCCURRED.

#### BIO/LEADERSHIP REPORTING

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16. POST'S REPORTING ON MEETINGS WITH GOR LEADERS PROVIDED USEFUL INSIGHTS INTO THE ATTITUDES OF VARIOUS LEADERSHIP FIGURES ON KEY ISSUES. WITH THE INSTALLATION OF THE NEW RPF-LED GOVERNMENT, MORE BIO REPORTS WOULD BE

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WELCOME, AS MOST MINISTERS AND MILITARY LEADERS ARE NEW TO THEIR POSITIONS AND FREQUENTLY NOT WELL-KNOWN TO WASHINGTON END-USERS.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE REPORTING

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17. POST SHOULD CONTINUE TO FOCUS ITS REPORTING ON THE KEY ISSUES THAT DIRECTLY AFFECT POLICY MAKING. POST'S REPORTING IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS HAS BEEN EXEMPLARY AND SHOULD BE CONTINUED:

-- SECURITY (E.G., ACTIVITIES OF EX-FAR, MILITIAS; RPA INVOLVEMENT IN VIOLENCE; COMMUNAL VIOLENCE; TERRORISM; PROSPECTS FOR RENEWED FIGHTING, ETC.)

-- UNAMIR (DEPLOYMENT, ACTIVITIES, EFFECTIVENESS, RELATIONS WITH GOR/RPA, EXPANSION, ETC.)

-- EFFORTS AT MILITARY INTEGRATION

-- HUMAN RIGHTS (E.G., FOLLOW-UP ON "GERSONY" ALLEGATIONS, DETENTIONS/DISAPPEARANCES, PROPERTY DISPUTES, GOR WAR CRIMES PROSECUTIONS/INVESTIGATIONS,

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ACTIVITIES OF JUDICIARY, ETC.)

-- THE UN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL (ACTIVITIES, INVESTIGATIONS)

-- HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS (DEPLOYMENT, ACTIVITIES, CONFIDENTIAL

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EFFECTIVENESS, RELATIONS WITH GOR/RPA, EXPANSION, ETC.)

-- AID TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT (IBRD, UN, BILATERAL, ETC.)

KEY AREAS WHERE WE SEE A NEED FOR MORE REPORTING INCLUDE:

-- POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF THE NEW GOR (RIFTS BETWEEN RPF AND OTHERS, RIFTS WITHIN RPF, FIGURES "BEHIND THE THRONE", ETC.)

-- RPA ROLE IN GOVERNMENT DECISIONS AND GOR/RPA RELATIONS

-- EFFORTS TO PROMOTE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

-- PROSPECTS FOR POLITICAL ADJUSTMENTS OR LONG-TERM SETTLEMENT, INCLUDING ROLE/VIEWS OF HUTU MODERATES -- IN AND OUT OF GOVERNMENT AND IN AND OUT OF RWANDA (TO THE EXTENT POST HAS INFORMATION ON THE HUTU EXILE COMMUNITY)

-- RELATIONS WITH REGIONAL NEIGHBORS AND KEY DONORS, E.G., FRANCE

-- BIO REPORTING ON KEY FIGURES IN THE NEW RWANDAN ORDER

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RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS/PROPOSED AREAS FOR REDUCTION  
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18. POST'S RESOURCE AND OTHER CONSTRAINTS ARE EXTREMELY SEVERE (ALTHOUGH EVENTUAL RETURN TO PREWAR STATE STAFFING LEVELS WITH THREE SUBSTANTIVE OFFICERS (AMB, DCM, CONFIDENTIAL

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ECON/CONS) SHOULD ALLEVIATE THIS SOMEWHAT). SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, ENVIRONMENTAL AND OTHER SECONDARY ISSUES ARE

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ALL CANDIDATES FOR REDUCTION OR ELIMINATION, UNLESS THEY  
RELATE TO KEY ISSUES LISTED ABOVE.

19. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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